

PEACE NEWS

No. 485 September 28, 1945 2d.

"SAVE EUROPE NOW"

Over 22,000 response

EARLY this week the total response to the "Save Europe Now" appeal had passed the 22,000 mark—and postcards were still arriving at 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1, in large numbers.

The immediate need of "Save Europe Now" is for volunteer office workers, so that the organization shall not be overwhelmed by the sheer bulk of the support it has evoked.

New leaflet

A leaflet entitled "Further Developments" is now available free for widespread distribution. This incorporates the substance of the statement published in the press on Sept. 20 in which the Master of Balliol and six other leading figures responded to requests for "a practical scheme on a voluntary basis. It is suggested," they continued,

"that depots might be set up in various districts to which people could from time to time send food and clothing parcels: or that they might cut out points, occasionally or regularly, and send them to a central bureau, where they might be amassed and their equivalent despatched to the worst centres of starvation."

The signatories added that "such a scheme, which might be operated through a Government department, the Red Cross, or other voluntary relief organizations, would have to be sponsored by the Government" and they were "anxious to explore this possibility without delay."

LAURENCE HOUSMAN insists that we encourage

No fooling about conscription!

AT a recent meeting of the League of Nations Union, Mr. Noel-Baker, a member of the present Government, speaking of the atomic bomb and its unavoidable consequences, said that it had proved that the idealists of the inter-war period had in fact been the realists. It was a rather belated bouquet, but it is one which pacifists deserve, and coming from an official quarter is the more welcome.

Ten years ago and more we were constantly trying to make people see than man's inventive powers, directed to weapons of destruction, made the abolition of war the only sane policy. Anything short of that was a footling time-serving substitute for an honest facing of the facts. Pacifists did not wait for the invention of the atomic bomb to scramble to a logical recognition of what totalitarian war was certain to become—mutual annihilation—with little to choose between victor and vanquished, and no civilization left worth saving.

Half-hearted

There was plenty of wishful thinking then (as now) that half-measures would do it; and the "Peace" Ballot had an evanescent triumph, making this evident at least—that public opinion was more set on a policy of peace than was the Government of the day—to which the success of the Ballot was very unwelcome.

But the declarations of the Peace Ballot did not go far enough, and its backing was largely a backing of pious opinion which was not prepared to throw out an unconsenting Government. It failed because the majority

SAVE WHAT WE STILL CAN SAVE

Britain's plain duty to Europe

NO more sombre picture of any post-war peace conference has ever appeared than that which emerges from the deliberations of the Big Three plus Two in London. Complete deadlock is openly admitted. On no single one of the innumerable pressing problems has a decision been reached.

Suspicion between Russia and the other powers has deepened into downright hostility. The news of Russia's economic pact with the new Hungarian government was only the latest of a whole series of unilateral actions which, in their totality, make nonsense of the very idea of a peace conference. There is, indeed, little point in continuing the farce.

The one and only policy for Britain is to try to save what can be saved of Western Europe in every possible way. That is going to be very difficult. It calls not only for a pretty radical readjustment of British ideas, but for a more radical readjustment of French ones. The inopportune recrudescence of French militarism, whereby almost one half of the French income is now being spent on keeping over a million troops under arms, is an impossible handicap to the reconstruction of France itself. Moreover, since the main object of this fantastically disproportionate military expenditure of France is to obtain a political control of the Rhineland which will prevent the collaboration of Germany in the rebuilding of Western Europe, one can but hope for the speedy illumination or elimination of de Gaulle.

The illusion of Potsdam

THE illusion of the possibility of peaceful co-operation with Russia for reconstruction of Europe has been shattered. The Potsdam agreement has been proved to be meaningless. Whatever slender foundations existed

Observer's Commentary

for mutual trust between Russia and the Western Allies have been destroyed by Russia. On the whole, the frankness of her actions is to be welcomed. She might have gone about the business more circumspectly. In a surprisingly short space of time we know exactly where we stand. That is, of course, an indication of Russia's awareness of the relative impotence of the Western Allies.

Stalin knows the weakness of the British position; and he knows that USA is preparing with all possible speed to reduce her obligations to Europe to a minimum. There is no particular need to play the game of bluff.

Even the New Statesman, whose record of sycophancy towards Russia during recent years is not inspiring, has at last seen the light. Its leader (Sept. 22) thus describes Russian policy:

"Unilateral actions adopted by the USSR everywhere east of Prague and Vienna, coupled with fierce denunciations of any proposal for closer Western European collaboration to get the wheels moving in time to avert anarchy."

Anarchy in Western Europe is what Russia wants—not so much to extend Communism, as to cripple Europe: the home of the subversive idea of political liberty.

Some of the arguments used by Russia against closer economic and political co-operation between the democratic nations of Western

Europe are fantastic. Karl Hoffman, writing in Red Star (Sept. 14), accuses Leon Blum "of dreaming of the creation of a block of European States against the Soviet Union" and denounces the Tribune for advocating co-operation. This, he says, is contrary to the Atlantic Charter!

PRIORITY

THE PPU Executive Committee resolved by a majority on Tuesday that "Save Europe Now" was the most important form of activity for the Union during the next few weeks and asked Public Action Committee to formulate a detailed policy accordingly.

It was appreciated that this necessitated a change in the basis of the meetings arranged as part of the People's Peace Crusade, which would now chiefly stress the urgency of action to save the people of Germany.

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The Atlantic Charter

WHEN Russia begins to appeal to the Atlantic Charter, we begin to rub our eyes. Russia, according to Hoffman's argument, is the champion of democracy in Eastern Europe.

"The authors of the plan for a Western bloc do not intend to try to obtain the co-operation of European democracy as a whole and the strengthening of its forces. On the contrary, they are trying to split these forces. They want to try to separate the group of Western European countries from the Soviet Union and the other States of Eastern Europe."

Further illumination on the Soviet conception of democracy is provided by Zaslavsky, broadcasting from Moscow (Times, Sept. 24).

"Now that the war is over the country which is most persistently fighting for the eradication of all remnants of Fascism should be considered the most democratic. Even American democracy tolerates Fascist propaganda in a section of its press. To insist that where there was only one party there was no democracy is utter rot. Supposing there is no opposition, what then? Must one be set up in the name of democracy?"

What is democracy?

THIS fundamental equivocation on the meaning of "democracy" appears to be, on the Russian side, deliberate. Perhaps it is not. Perhaps the Russians sincerely believe that the USSR is a democracy. After all, by derivation, democracy simply means the rule of the people; and, in the abstract, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is democracy. But democracy in Western Europe is not an abstract concept. Essential to the Western idea and practice of democracy (as Mr. Attlee recently declared) is complete freedom for minority opinion.

If the Russian concept of democracy were accepted, Nazism itself would be democratic. On the other hand, by the Western criterion of democracy, Soviet Russia is anti-democratic. This is a matter on which no compromise is possible without betraying the Western idea of civilization. And it is high time that Russia was told plainly that her conception of democracy and ours are totally opposed.

But let us give up hope of trying to obtain safeguards for the opposition in Russia's satellite countries. The safeguards will only be paper; and if any unfortunate democrats are rash enough to trust them and come out in open opposition to the regime, they will only be marked down for

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

THE OPEN MIND

THE most substantial donations lately received by the Peace News Fund have come from readers who are not members of the PPU or indeed pacifists at all. They give as a tribute to our effort to reach and set out the truth. And I value their tribute accordingly.

For Peace News is the organ of a non-sectarian pacifism. It does not maintain that, in the era of the mass-society, individual renunciation of war is the only way to world-peace. If it were, we should completely despair of the future of the human race. That is dark enough in all conscience, without our making it total eclipse. Wherever we discern the gleam of hope for world-peace, thither we turn—unfettered by any orthodoxy.

Have you sent that postcard to "Save Europe Now"?

Contributions since Sept. 14: £23 2s. 9d. Total to date: £6,056 1s. 4d.

THE EDITOR

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

UTOPIA - OR DEATH

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS on Saturday last made the first considered speech of a Cabinet Minister on the significance of the atomic bomb. Sir John Anderson, when he made his weighty statement in *The Sunday Times*, was no longer a member of the Government. Mr. Noel-Baker has spoken seriously, but too briefly. Roughly, what Sir Stafford said, was this:

People have not yet realized to anything like the full what the atomic bomb means for the future history of the world. The danger is that, before they have realized it, the memory of its destructive power will fade and men will become unconscious of the new power of destruction. Already men are talking as though we must be prepared for the failure of international agreement and accept the recrudescence of power-politics.

Yet in fact the whole scene is radically and completely changed. It is quite idle to suppose that the secret can be kept. Within ten years, the atomic bomb, probably in a far more destructive form, will be available as a weapon to every major power.

"It is now not merely the best policy to try to avoid war; it is absolutely vital and essential that we should not allow this new form of destruction to be let loose on the world. This is an absolute first and overriding priority for every people in the world, great powers and small powers alike. War has become certain national and international suicide—there can be no victory, it must be final disastrous defeat for all."

Thus, the atomic bomb has telescoped history. We must, if we are to avoid the suicide of the human race, put finally from our minds the idea that world-organization and world-co-operation are Utopian and impractical ideas: or, at best, something to be reached in the distant future. We must realize that we have lived through the pace between now and that distant future. It is either Utopia or death.

"What we have to do is to convince ourselves and others that this is the absolute truth of the position of humanity today. If we can do this, we may perhaps be able to view the present situation with realism and hope."

"We may have a few years yet in which the atomic bomb is not a common weapon in the hands of all major powers, but they will be pitifully few compared to the universal task which confronts us. During these years we must find the way by which we can settle world differences without war. I don't seek to put forward any suggestions as to how that might be done, because my object is to stress and stress again its urgent need."

"This is a matter which must be taken up by everyone and not merely by a few over-worked statesmen. It is essentially a job in which the driving power must come from the common men and women all over the world."

In those words is a policy, behind them a threat: it is to use the brief years in which the atomic bomb remains a secret to convince Russia of the necessity of entering a world-federation. Whether it would have been better to offer Russia the secret, without conditions, it is no use arguing now. The moment is past. Russian policy has so revealed itself that any proposal to communicate the atomic secret to her would now be rejected by public opinion in the West.

What then remains? To answer that question as men moved solely by a consuming concern to save mankind from disaster is our duty. But it cannot be answered in the abstract. The answer depends on the response of the common man to the new human situation. To make him understand that situation, to arouse the imagination within him which alone can enable him to understand it, to present it to him with scrupulous honesty: that is the first necessity. Out of that effort, and the response to it, hope may grow.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d.

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How DOES one renounce

the Atomic Bomb?

asks ALAN STANILAND

HOW can we renounce the atom-bomb so that even those who hate us will believe us? The question with which my first article ended may seem meaningless unless I have made my point that what is needed is not mere good intention, but also its intelligent expression in action. To expand the old saying: The road to hell is paved with efficient bad intentions and inefficient good ones.

In this case the only simple and dramatic gesture that seems relevant is the renunciation of sub-atomic research. That I am not prepared to advocate it is, for me, the "new dimensional" problem—a dilemma of knowledge that, I believe, only more knowledge can solve.

For Socrates ethics was essentially a problem of knowledge. He believed that men do evil only because they do not know good, that if they knew the good their reason would compel them to seek to realize it. It is an explanation of evil that it is difficult to accept as adequate, but it remains a part of the truth, and a part especially important to movements such as the pacifist movement which tend to regard good intentions as sufficient in themselves.

The Socratic vision

Ethics will not be replaced by knowledge until knowledge is complete—which probably it will never be. Until that time ethical principles have their own status; they incorporate the judgments men have drawn from experience as to the probable good, the personal intuitions of good that we cannot express as knowledge but only in action. In them we find power of decision when knowledge fails us. But the Socratic vision, I believe, still holds in that moral principles will turn to ashes in our hands if we try to use them as a substitute for the search for knowledge.

Virtuous men have burned witches and killed the innocent for bringing blight upon the crops. They may have felt certain of man's place in theology, they were surely ignorant of his place in meteorology. It is such stories out of the past that make it dangerous thought that we have enough knowledge to be virtuous if only we had the good intention. They should be remembered if the atom-bomb tempts us to return to medievalism.

Leonardo da Vinci, it is said, destroyed his notes of particular inventions of war. But there is no record that he would have rejected fundamental knowledge of the nature of the world, and that is what renunciation of sub-atomic research would mean. For "ultimate physics," as it is sometimes called, is not a queer backwater at the very limits of science, cut off from the ordinary world. It is the "advanced" science,

because fundamentally it deals with the simplest things, with single atoms where biology has to deal with the uncounted billions that make up living bodies and human beings. Far from being ultimate, it is only a stage in the conquest of knowledge, we have to go there and back again before we can hope to understand some of the aspects of life which are humanly most important to us.

Not to be banished

The danger of the moment, a very real one for pacifists, is that science and scientists should be set aside as evil by those who should be most concerned to seek knowledge and help it to be used for good. The idea of renunciation is, in any case, theoretical, scientific advance will not be banished by a minority of good intenders, and all that they are likely to ensure is their own ignorance.

The immediate fact that we have to face is the stupendous change in the value of disarmament as a peace-making policy. The sheer volume of the old Army and Navy, their utter uselessness for any purpose but destruction, suggested disarmament as the obvious expression of international good will and abnegation of power. The discovery of sub-atomic

power because of its concentration and wide possibilities of industrial use means that we have to resign ourselves to a world in which the instruments of destruction will be ever-present. The question will not be whether they exist, but whether or not they are to be used. Disarmament was, of course, a policy that could be reversed. But what has gone is the comfortable feeling that, at any rate, no one will be ready for war inside five years.

To conceive a pacifism of which disarmament is not the obvious expression is difficult, yet I do not believe the essence of pacifism is altered by this change of circumstance. At the moment I find only one thing clear. It is that the pacifist who turns his mind away from science and the quest for knowledge is turning away from that which has the best chance of giving the sense of adventure which at present finds half-unwilling expression in war.

Am I wrong in thinking that it is not only the sophisticated and intellectual who has found the broadcasts on Radar and atom-splitting more exciting than even the clash of armies? If I am not wrong there is hope, for this is a drama that peace can achieve. But it is not a drama of simple gesture. I find little hope in a return to the thoughts of the past, even to those of 1938.

Personal Pacifism

THOSE of us who have pledged ourselves to renounce war have signed in each case a personal declaration. We did not assert that peace is the best policy or that victories can be won by non-violent resistance. It was the heart, the mind, the will over which we had power that we separated from war.

Nearly fifty years ago, when I for myself made that decision within myself, the act was instinctive. In those days, perhaps, individuality seemed of more importance.

We had grown up to sing of daring to stand alone, of few against the world. We had read admiring stories of inventors, artists, reformers who had stood unshakably for the integrity of their ideas, their vision, their faith.

My feeling was for human solidarity and man's duty to emancipate himself from nature's struggle for existence, by helping man. I would not give up that faith for war, though the State fell.

BUT any resolve to stand apart is, of course, negative. This is not to question the value of saying "No."

John Woolman's historic refusal to assist in the sale of a slave was a negative act, and tremendous and far-reaching. To Woolman himself, however, it was no more than one way of expressing his faith toward his fellow-creatures.

A similar attitude is morally to be demanded from the objector to war. Renunciation decays unless vitalized by a lively belief in right relations between men in all lands everywhere. And this is a belief to be thought out and spoken in its bearing upon the events of our day, for the sake of our own integrity, even if listeners are few, or if with no listeners we must find indirect or wordless ways.

EVERYBODY now is against war—war by the other people. But nearly everybody, apparently, is willing to organize overwhelming power and use it for massacre, starvation and the breaking of the human will in order to dictate what the victors call peace.

Scattered through the nations, ten million conscientious non-participants would form a brake upon this unbalanced, headlong tragic fury of popularized war. But one man, though of less stature than a Tolstoy, could infuse shame into our democratic belligerence, shame for our obliterations of cities, our enslavements of beaten enemies, our sub-

servience to dictatorships on our side, our certifications of innocence and guilt, our fanaticism in refusing all conditions.

Relationships of conqueror and conquered could become intolerable, as against the loveliness of common sympathy and mutual effort, within and across frontiers alike.

A CENTURY ago, Newman wrote of truth spread most surely by personal influence. Evil had a thousand weapons, but not the power of a faith in goodness devotedly held. The moral force in any one of us may seem negligible; but it is mountainous compared with the share of a small minority in direct political power.

As students and critics of war and peace we can and do take a more substantial place; for there can be no others writing and speaking from an absolute faith in peace. Yet the deeper is the faith itself, the less insistent the belief upon war being wrong than upon the rightness, necessity and urgency of those mutual relations between peoples which exclude all such injustices as historically have caused war.

If the pacifist movement could overcome its persistent weakness, and its members cohere as children of the faith needed to sweeten, if it cannot now save, the world, there would be new hope for many more than ourselves.

Percy Redfern

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kind from a third world war.
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Secretary, 103 Lee Rd., S.E.3

The eleventh Dick Sheppard anniversary gathering

will be held at Friends' House,
Euston Rd., London, N.W.1, on
Oct. 27, with the performance
of a play to follow in the evening
at the Cripplegate Theatre,
Shoreditch. At Friends' House
the programme will be:

3-4.15: Music and readings: Esther Hulbert, Austen Smith, Robert Thomson.

4.15-5.30: Tea (1s. 9d.) and opportunity for fellowship.

5.30-6.30: Meeting. Chairman: Donald Soper. Speakers: Alex Wood and Donald Port.

The play "Gates of Mercy," by Brian Anstey and Roy Walker, will be performed by the North London Players, commencing at 7 p.m.

Seats (numbered and reserved) 1s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d. Tickets available at PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4; and London Area PPU, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

Requests for hospitality to London Area Office by Oct. 15. Tickets are not required for the meetings at Friends' House: admission 1s.

HOUSMAN'S

THE lease having now been signed, as soon as the protracted, almost insuperable, difficulties and restrictions of opening a shop in the present times can be overcome, the new PPU Bookshop will be opened at 124a Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.1.

P.P.U. column

The guiding policy will be catholic, cultural and pacifist. We shall endeavour not only to sell books on all important subjects, but we shall maintain a good cultural standard.

The idea is not only to give us an added means of reaching people of good will outside the pacifist movement, and supply them with or interest them in our utterances, but also to give them a general bookshop in whose standards they have faith and to which they will, we hope, come for all their literary needs.

...

THEN we want to make our own membership more aware of the important publications appearing outside the PPU, and encourage them to have a sense of responsibility towards their own shop and make it a point of honour to send to Housmans for every book they need, being confident, as they may, that we shall be able to supply them.

In the early months, when we are endeavouring to establish ourselves in the West End, and achieve a reputation for quality and discrimination as well as a catholic outlook, we shall need all the support our members can give so that our financial basis may be made secure. We hope that pacifists will realize the supreme importance of books in the significant days to come; that they will deny themselves many lesser things rather than the chance to be well-read and well-informed.

Housman's is your own shop. Please support it. We shall do everything we can to make you, and all booklovers, value it.

...

I FEEL that the Union is much indebted to Henry Rutland and to other members of the Bookshop staff, past and present, without whose pioneer work this new venture would not now be possible.

GEOFFREY GILBERT,
Bookshop Manager.

On both sides of the Atlantic "ATOM" SCIENTISTS SPEAK OUT Horried 'Virtually prisoners'

THOSE associated with the development of the atomic bomb were, if anything, more horrified than anyone else at the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: that is the view of Prof. M. E. Oliphant, Poynting Professor of Physics at the University of Birmingham and a member of the Technical Committee of Scientists responsible for the bomb's development.

He expressed his opinion when speaking to Birmingham Rotary Club on Sept. 17.

"Scientists believed that this weapon could have been used against Japan very effectively without dropping it upon a city," he said.

Intensive propaganda by wireless and leaflets would have warned the Japanese that one of these weapons would be dropped on their country. They would have seen their country illuminated by a stronger light than any sun which ever shone on Japan, and they would have experienced physical evidence of the great power of this new force.

If the warning had not been effective, he continued, then the thing would have been to wipe out, for instance, one of the islands in Tokio Bay used as a naval base. But only as a last resort would scientists have dropped this weapon on to a city.

"ODIUM" ON POLITICIANS

Much of the odium which had been attached to the scientific side of this work should be transferred to the politicians, who had made such use of this instrument.

Had scientists had control of the use of the bomb it would never have been used in such a way as to make it impossible for Great Britain and America to complain if atomic bombs were dropped on London and New York.

Prof. Oliphant said that the idea that Britain and America, or any other country, could keep the process secret was "just rot."

The principles on which the bomb was based were well known to everyone. Any industrial country could have the bomb in five years, and any determined industrial country could have it in two.

"The result was that we could only have control by some sort of mutual agreement.

SPEAKING for 17 fellow-scientists who worked with him on the atomic bomb, Dr. Samuel Allison, head of the Institute of Nuclear Studies at Chicago University, said they all considered it a "great tragedy" that so important a discovery should be revealed under such circumstances—that they had hoped that by merely demonstrating the bomb on an unoccupied island or in Japanese home waters, the war could have been ended.

Dr. Allison, one of the men in charge of the first atomic bomb explosion in New Mexico, was speaking at a luncheon which the scientists attended in Chicago.

"LOCKED UP"

Dr. Allison also protested at a situation in which the atomic scientists have become virtual prisoners, at a time when they are "making a desperate attempt to return to free research and investigation, as it was before the war began . . . We have been virtually locked up ever since."

He threatened that "if attempts are made to continue censorship and prevent free dissemination of scientific knowledge," the scientists would, in effect, go on strike.

"We will begin an elaborate study of the colours of butterflies," he remarked.

Among nuclear scientists everywhere "there is no real secret about the atomic bomb. Our only secret is the capacity of the bomb."

Dorothy Thompson, the famous columnist, in an article in the Washington Star, Sept. 7 (a copy of which has just reached us through the War Resisters' International) called the protest "one of the most important news stories of the week."

She recalled that on Aug. 22, Lise Meitner, "the remarkable woman scientist and exile from Berlin, who played a decisive role in the whole development," wrote an article, cabled from Stockholm, in which she said: "When the original research began before the war nothing was further from our minds than the utilization of this energy for the manufacture of bombs."

"A revolt of scientists is serious for political and military leaders," commented Dorothy Thompson.

P.P.U. "students" seek way forward

THE PPU Summer School, held at Spiceland, Devon, last week, appeared to agree with John Hoyland (writes a correspondent) that the time for the propaganda of pre-war had passed, and that the way forward lay through service to the people of ex-enemy countries and in other devastated areas. Such work could assuage the enmities of race and class. Work camps manned by volunteers living in the homes of the people could play a great part.

Roy Walker explained that there was no fundamental conflict between propaganda and service, which recognized the existence of social casualties while propaganda sought to reform the society which produced them. The European famine, with which the Public Action Committee of the PPU was concerned (as it also was with the United Nations Charter and the Atom-Bomb) showed the need for synthesis between political action and personal service.

Tom Stephens described the case-work of the Manchester PSU among problem families, and in building up community centres in districts where all community spirit was lacking. They had found that it was only by work in a spirit of friendship was it possible to restore the "depressed classes" to society.

Howard Whitten felt that British pacifists had undervalued British democracy. The PPU had set up its International Industrial and Social Order Committee to formulate those elements in society which would endow it with the possibility of peace. The immediate issues group of this committee suspected an oversimplification of principles and technical possibility.

PAST FAILURES

Donald Port, discussing the Affirmation, argued that revolutionary and religious movements of the past had broken down when they failed to require both radical change of the economic structure and a concern for its individual victims. The co-operative experiments of Gandhi and Kagawa pointed the way.

Geo. L. Davies wound up the Conference. He stressed the eternal nature of the truth they held—Hitler was no new phenomenon. As Aeschylus wrote: "It is through suffering that learning comes." The Greek tragedians knew that crisis and judgment were the same word, signifying a time of growth. They should not despise small beginnings: "What is once well done is done for ever."

It takes more than the best talks to make a good conference. When speeches and arguments are forgotten we shall remember some of the less solemn parts. Camping out in rough weather; the charabanc outing to Sandy Bay with bathing, rounders and a 74th birthday party tea; the games tournaments finishing with a tremendous ping-pong final and challenge match; and the last-night concert with all-star turns and George Davies acting as judge in a mock trial, rounded off with honour where it was due and, of course, Auld Lang Syne. These were among the things that made the difference.

Especially thanks are due to Dick Steele, the Warden, his wife, and, indeed, all the community, while the total success was not the least tribute to the organization of John Barclay.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.
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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

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FOR SALE & WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

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GENTS' well-tailored sed.-hand D.B. overcoat, dark blue, gd. condn., length 45in., suitable 16-stone person. 63s. Box 147.

BASHED BERMUNDSEY Boys' Club (under fourteens) urgently requ. a football, books for library, and blackout material for gym shorts. Can you help? Please send to Mr. Lakeman, 54 Crosby Row, S.E.1.

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LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

CALLING ALL WOMEN. The Methodist Peace Fellowship (Women's Group) earnestly invite you to a meeting. Subject: "Youth & Military Service." Speaker: Mrs. G. M. Grindley (W.I.L. Executive and C.B.C.O.). at Bloomsbury Hse., Bloomsbury St. (nr. Tottenham Court Rd. Und. stn.) Tues., Oct. 2, 7 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST: Sun., Oct. 7. Lady Clare Annesley: "Jobs for All." Friends Meeting Hse., Wellington St., 8.30.

LONDON FORUM Public Lecture. Fredrick Lohr: "The Grand Inquisitor" Part II. "Freedom and Charity." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster. Oct. 1, 7.30.

MIDLAND Pacifist Fellowship, Selly Oak F.M.H., Sun., Oct. 7 (3 p.m.). "Reconciling the Ideal with the Real." Howard E. Collier.

STUART MORRIS speaks at a 3-session school at Camborne I.L.P. Rm. Sun., Oct. 14. Commencing 11 a.m. All Cornish members are urged to attend. Full details of times, meals, transport, etc., from Alan A. Mister, "Lansbury," Newton Poppleford, Sidmouth.

HIGH WYCOMBE P.P.U. invite you to hear Patrick Figgis speak after tea provided at 4 p.m. on Sat., Oct. 6, Friends House, 25 London Rd.

CHELSEA and Westminster Group meets at 7.30 on Thurs. at 58 Oakley St., S.W.3. On Oct. 4 we are beginning a series of discussions on The Way of Pacifism.

N.W. MIDDIX REGION. Roger Page, new London Area Organizer, is speaking at 8 Marlborough Hill, Wealdstone, at 7.45 p.m. on Fri., Oct. 5.

WEMBLEY GROUP. Patrick Figgis is speaking on "Youth and the Future of the Peace" at 7.45 p.m., Thurs., Oct. 11, at Rosemead Rooms, Brotherhood Hall, High Rd., Wembley (near Post Office). Chair: F. William Long.

WEST HAM Peace Fellowship—Barclay Hall, Green St., E.7. Tues., Oct. 2, 7.45 p.m. Roy Walker speaks on "Non-Violent Resistance in Norway."

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Parties, stamp, Sec. PN, 19 Ty. Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardig.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

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WANTED a single person to live in farmhouse requd. to do gen. farm work including milking. Whitaker, Hawling, Andoversford, Cheltenham.

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TAILORING: wtd.; coat maker, breeches and trousers maker or improver. Parties, age, etc. J. Camfield, 82 High St., Crawley, Sussex.

APPLICATIONS are invited from men or women for pioneer social experiment with problem families. Invaluable exp. Pocket money basis. Apply: Pacifist Service Unit, 56 Grove St., Liverpool, 7.

COMPOSITOR wtd. by printers of Peace News, write or call, Clifford Printing Co., 12b, Manor Rd., Stoke Newington, N.16.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED PROFESSIONAL Secretarial Service. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. PAL. 7386.

GARDENER, married, seeks post. market gdn./institution, wd. consider rent or buy small market gdn., reasonable accomdn. Box 152.

WOMAN seeks position as designer in London textile studio. Suggestions pl. to C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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C.O. AGRICULTURAL Eng. Desires contact with another with view to starting garage working on socialistic principles. Gibson, "Stanbrook," Littlehampton Rd., Ferring, Sussex.

proscription. Eastern Europe is lost to Western democracy, for years to come.

The case of Austria

POSSIBLY, in the long run, Czechoslovakia will not entirely abandon the liberal-democratic idea. But it is no use our trying to fight hopeless positions, and ending with some worthless compromise which merely discredits our sincerity, as in the case of Poland. The case of Austria is one where we should fight, first because Vienna is still a cultural capital of Europe and second because we have a chance of winning.

But we must be positive. We must hasten to recognize the Renner government now that it can be, and is being, made more representative. And we must back up political recognition by material support: by immediate large-scale relief, and above all by the creation of an economic association of Western European nations by attachment to which Austria may live.

It is impossible to exaggerate the urgency of this policy, at all levels. Russia's barbaric behaviour towards Austria—they have taken even the turbines on which the lighting system of Vienna depended—gives us a psychological opportunity for winning a moral victory over Russia. Russia despises moral victories; and well she may, if they are not based on material realities. Political recognition must be backed by (1) immediate and generous relief; (2) help in capital reconstruction, which USA alone can give adequately; (3) creating a politico-economic structure for Western Europe in which Austria may live.

A bloc against the West

RUSSIA claims £150 millions of reparations in kind from Italy, quite irrespective of any British and American claims, and of the fact that Italy was supposed to be "working her passage." On the other hand, Russia claims that Bulgaria should pay no reparations at all, even to Greece. "Every argument used about Italy is turned inside out and upside down in the case of Bulgaria." (Daily Herald, Sept. 21).

In similar fashion, the Russian press furiously denounces any suggestion of a formation of a Western bloc—of independent nations—because it is anti-Soviet. Yet she is busily creating, largely by force, an Eastern European bloc far more closely knit than anything on the remote horizon in Western Europe. Why on earth have we not the courage to say that this is a bloc against Western Europe, as assuredly it is?

The fiction of Russia having to defend itself against Western Europe is now completely exploded. Western Europe has neither the means nor the desire to attack Russia. Its one manifest duty is to defend itself against a Russia bent on destroying its civilization; on weakening it politically, economically, and culturally until it is utterly exhausted.

Britain's duty

IN this effort, it is Britain's duty to take the lead. It is pitiful that she must take it alone. But in its present temper, the overwhelming economic strength of USA will be used to obstruct closer economic co-operation between the nations of Western Europe. The crux of the tragic situation is that Russia, seeking to extend Communism, and USA seeking to extend Capitalism, are alike working against the formation of the Western European union which is necessary if the British attempt at democratic socialism is to succeed or survive. No doubt, the hostility of USA is far less dangerous than that of Russia, which can count on the support of the Communists in Western Europe. Nevertheless, it is very serious. Democracy, for USA, means pure Capitalism; and a democracy which moves towards socialism goes "Red" in American eyes. The political consequence of this prejudice is to weaken the resistance of Western Europe towards totalitarian Communism. In economic mentality, USA has become retrogressive during the war; when it becomes progressive again, it may be too late.

In very truth, if only we knew it, Britain now has its back against the wall. The Battle of Britain of the fighting armies was child's play to the Battle of Britain that is now beginning.

No release from 'conditions' yet

ONE edition of The Star on Sept. 20, carried a report that COs were to be freed from all Tribunal conditions from the following Monday. This report is, however, wholly incorrect and was published in error. There is no such scheme for immediate "demobilization" of COs en bloc.

For several months, the Central Board has been pressing that COs should be released from their conditions in the same way as men are being released from the Forces. The Board's considered view is that COs should be treated neither better nor worse than Servicemen. The Board has made its views known to the Ministry of Labour, but there is no prospect of any early decision.

AMNESTY SOUGHT FOR U.S. OBJECTORS

A delegation from organizations interested in COs called upon the US Attorney General recently with a request for amnesty for over 5,000 objectors who have been sentenced to Federal prison for violations of sections of the Selective Training and Service Act which conflicted with their religious, humanitarian, or political convictions.

FAR EAST POW WAS C.O.

A conscientious objector is among those who have been freed from a Japanese POW camp in Siam. He is Willie Tolson, of Brighouse, Yorks. He was in the RAMC and was captured at the fall of Singapore. He has now arrived safely in India.

NEW ZEALAND APPEALS

A further 13 decisions of the Auckland Revision Authority have been announced—9 applications for parole have been allowed and 4 dismissed. There is no further appeal, so that these four will now have to stay in prison or detention until the "duration of the war" has been officially determined. Among them is the first CO to go to prison, who has already served over four years.

LETTERS

A conquering gesture

WE have conquered Germany with the sword, we have smashed the German people into abject submission. We have declared loudly to the vanquished, "This has been done to you for the sake of Christianity." As a dazed and conquered nation who were under the impression they were fighting for Christianity (Oh! subtle propaganda!), it is impossible for the German masses to believe our statement.

If we are a Christian nation, let us heed the words of Jesus Christ the unorthodox founder of Christianity: "If thine enemy hunger feed him."

If only it could be the unanimous wish of this England to have broadcast to every man, woman and child in Germany this message, "We, your recent mortal enemies, gladly offer you a share of our own meagre rations. If your heart is bitter towards us, may this gesture kindle in its place the brotherly love without which we shall all surely perish."

In this way we should not only reconquer Germany, but the entire world.

H. E. MARTIN.

"Caravan," Farndon, Newark, Notts.

Three-way traffic

"Observer," in your issue of Sept. 7, shows himself still cursed with the vice of insularity which has thwarted all attempts at visions in the much-condemned Munich mind. He discusses England and apparently the UK only instead of Rule Britannia's domains.

He talks about what we are to give in exchange for tobacco, shutting his eyes to what has been actually happening. Let him shut his right eye and open his Rule Britannia one and he will see the millions of pounds or tons of gold which South Africa has been exporting to the USA in exchange for manufactures, etc., we have been exporting to her, in exchange for tobacco we have been importing from the USA. If the Yankees prefer to eat or smoke gold, Rule Britannia can give 'em as much as they like.

A. H. STUART-MENTETH.

19 Palace Gates, W.8.
(Not as much as they like, by a great deal: and South Africa will often prefer to exchange her gold directly with USA.—Ed. PN.)

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 144.

Even if there is no moral solidarity between the nearly-related races of Europe, there is an economic solidarity which we cannot disregard... There may be ahead of us a long, silent process of semi-starvation, and of a gradual, steady lowering of the standards of life and comfort. The bankruptcy and decay of Europe, if we allow it to proceed, will affect everyone in the long run, but perhaps not in a way that is striking or immediate... The events of the coming year will not be shaped by the deliberate acts of statesmen, but by the hidden currents, flowing continually beneath the surface of political history. In one way only can we influence these hidden currents, by setting in motion these forces of instruction and imagination which change opinion. The assertion of truth, the unveiling of illusion, the dissipation of hate, the enlargement and instruction of men's hearts and minds, must be the means...

We have been moved already beyond endurance, and need rest. Never in the lifetime of men now living has the universal element in the soul of man burnt so dimly.

—John Maynard Keynes, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace."

CALL FROM GERMAN PROTESTANTS

"A New Germany—a call from Protestant Germans in Switzerland" is the title of a pamphlet just published by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (38 Gordon Sq., W.C.1.), price 2d. In a foreword Dr. Charles E. Raven writes: "The document here translated, an address to Germans of the Lutheran Church living in Switzerland, was sent to this country by Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze, formerly of Berlin and now of Zurich, one of the outstanding Christian scholars and leaders in Germany, a man well-known to many Englishmen for his work as a social thinker and pioneer. Its message is not only moving but significant, and deserving of the widest possible circulation among all who are concerned with the restoration of Christianity in Europe."

PLYMOUTH OPEN-AIR MEETING

Thirty copies of Peace News were sold at a recent open-air meeting in Plymouth, at which Will Royle and Sydney Conbeer were the speakers.

Impulses on the left

I gather that Mr. Wellock doubts my statement that there are ethical principles behind many of the impulses of the British Labour Party. He again draws our attention to the failures of the Party in foreign affairs and shows, with the help of some inaccurate figures, that a large number of MPs make a good living from positions in the Government.

This seems to me to be an unprofitable use of Mr. Wellock's talent, although it is natural that he should see clearly the faults of a party to which he has himself belonged. I did no more, in my article on the Managerial Revolution, than try to uncover one or two points of sympathetic contact between pacifists and socialists, taking care to draw attention to the dangers which are inherent in the socialist position.

I cannot help feeling that Mr. Wellock's diagnosis would be more convincing if he had a little more faith in the human beings he pities and a little less in the power of the machine to destroy personality.

DONALD PORT.

Peace-loving realism

The Aug. 31 issue of Peace News reached me today and I was greatly impressed by the letter from Gen. Fuller and agree wholeheartedly with him.

I've been in the Army ever since the outbreak of war in September, 1939, and my experience has taught me that war is a criminal waste, and militarism, whether in peace or war, is sheer childish stupidity. When I and my comrades return to "civvy street" our duty is not just to prevent another war, but also to end conscription which is nothing more than an aspect of war economy. We cannot do this by harping on the effects of war as Gen. Fuller quite rightly says: Let us analyse the conditions of peace and diagnose its diseases, only then can we cure or prevent. In other words, it isn't pacifism we need but peace-loving realism, the mere signing of a peace pledge or refusing to fight does not prevent the major tragedy of war.

I see that a People's Peace Crusade is to be launched. I hope it works on the lines of Gen. Fuller's sensible advice and not degenerate into another intellectual minority grouping. I would even suggest that the PPU be merged into the new project which would become an all-embracing organization of realists with a social, economic and cultural programme to maintain a healthy state of peace.

(PTE.) ALFRED NORRIS.

Pte. Alfred Norris, Intelligence Section, 1st Glosters, India Command.

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PROTEST AGAINST USE OF ATOM BOMB

THIRTY-ONE well-known people signed a letter, the text of which was issued last week, recording their protest and horror at the dropping of atomic bombs on Japanese cities.

They included Vera Brittain, Benjamin Britten, Clifford Curzon, Laurence Housman, Ethel Mannin, Lady Parmoor, Lady Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Osbert Sitwell, Lady Snowden and Arthur Wragg.

Their letter declares:

"This is a further deliberate violation of the principle of the sacredness of human life upon which Christian civilization and democratic society alike have been based."

"The perpetration of this crime reduces to hypocrisy the self-constituted right of the Allied Nations to put 'war criminals' on trial. What moral difference is there between Nazi 'extermination camps' and the mass-extermination of helpless civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The Allied leaders and those whom they represent should rather be entreating God's forgiveness for their misuse of the cosmic forces which He alone can be trusted to control."

The other signatories to the letter are:

Rev. Alan Balding, Winifred Maude Brayshaw, Dr. A. D. Belden, H. Runham Brown, Corder Catchpool, Prof. George Catlin, Rev. P. Rowntree Clifford, Archdeacon F. Lewis Donaldson, Rev. Patrick Figgis, Rev. James Fraser, Archdeacon Percy Hartill, Muriel Lester, Dr. Harold Moody, Lady Mary Murray, Hon. Alexandrina Peckover, Ernest Raymond, Prof. Sir Charles Reilly, Sir Hugh S. Robertson, Clare Sheridan, Horace Shipp and Rev. Reginald Sorensen, MP.

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